

# In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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## 1940 Political Buncombe Campaign

Following the presidential elections of 1932 and 1936, the congressional election of 1938, one or two per cent of the press and the liberal weeklies informed the American public it had been fooled by 80% or 90% of the big press; that the news had been distorted, sometimes suppressed, usually colored, and in some instances faked.

At the present moment the same story is being repeated. The big press has gone over to Willkie. The headlines read: "Willkie promises farmers . . ." and "Willkie promises labor . . ." and "Willkie promises to take Business out of the 'Dog House.'" Also, "Willkie against Thanksgiving Day change," and "Willkie forgets to leave tip" and "Willkie orders three suits of clothes."

A majority of the correspondents who write the buncombe which the papers play on page 1 say they will vote against Willkie; in press clubs, at Newspaper Guild meetings, wherever newspaper men meet, the stuff is called "dope," "hokey" and "bunk." Newspaper men frequently lose all respect for the American people because the people accept the political buncombe they themselves write.

IN FACT believes the reason the big press is for Willkie is because big business is for Willkie; IN FACT calls attention of its readers to the fact that almost all the big advertisers are pro-Willkie.

## New York Times for Willkie and \$\$\$

The most sensational switch in politics is that of the most powerful newspaper in America: the New York Times.

The Times calls itself "independent," so does about 20% of the press, but there are not a dozen newspapers independent of advertisers, bankers, public utilities, politicians and other corrupting forces. Our challenge to anyone to name 6 papers as honest as the Manchester Guardian stands.

The Times has supported the Democratic Party consistently. (Exception: Bryan twice.) In 1932 it did so without remorse, but in 1936 troubles began. Big Business began to boycott the newspapers supporting the New Deal. The Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and other native Fascist groups which place profits above human welfare, joined in fighting Rooseveltian reforms while advertising agencies, spokesman for Big Business, began threatening the press.

For example, the Sun Oil Co., owned by the Pews, withdrew Sunoco ads from liberal, New Deal, Democratic Party papers. The Herald Tribune and other New York papers got tens of thousands of dollars of Pew advertising. The Times called up Sunoco advertising agency, was promised the ad, then refused, on order of Mr. Pew himself. Pew said he would advertise in the Times if the Times turned against the New Deal.

## IN FACT's Source of Evidence

IN FACT has so little space each issue it cannot devote hundreds of words to stating all its sources of evidence, but in this case it knows readers will be interested to learn about Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, part owner and publisher of the Times, gave the information to the editor of IN FACT. Mr. Sulzberger was defending himself as a "liberal" and pointed to Sunoco case to prove that "it costs money to uphold one's principles." The interview took place at the Lotus Club; it was arranged by Hilton Railey, author, after the editor of IN FACT returned from Spain.

Mr. Sulzberger therefore is the informant. Mr. Sulzberger it was who pointed out the fact the biggest corporations—also the biggest advertisers—were anti New Deal and were using their money to swing the press to their side.

Today it is a fact that outside the solid South (and the solid Republican North of Vermont and Maine) the press is 90% or more for Willkie, and is getting the advertising of Big Business, which is also 90% or more for Willkie. The implication and the facts coincide.

## Sorry Attempt to Defend Press

The one great force in America which refuses to listen to criticism is that force which claims the right to criticize everything in the world with impunity, namely, the press. Its mouthorgan is Editor & Publisher.

## Buying the "Truth"

THE New York Herald Tribune has been busy denouncing the Cardenas government in Mexico, and boosting the openly fascist, Nazi-supported Almazan, who was decisively defeated in the recent presidential elections. Almazan now promises, with the HT's blessing, to take office even if he must resort to arms.

Nicholas Roosevelt, of the Teddy Roosevelt line, has for the past year directed the Herald Tribune editorial policy on Mexico. He was sent to the Havana Conference whence he wrote pro-Almazan stories. It is well known that Almazan is the friend of Standard Oil, American landowners, pro-fascists. The HT has never published the fact Nicholas Roosevelt has been on the payroll of Standard Oil for over a year; that his oil salary exceeded that paid him by the HT; that he is writing a propaganda book on Standard Oil in Venezuela; that the HT executives questioned the propriety of an HT employee doing propaganda work for the Standard Oil, but that the HT owners gave Roosevelt the go-ahead signal.

These owners (Ogden Reids) inherited: 3,073 shares Standard Oil of California; 3,660 shares S. O. Indiana; 7,000 shares Esso; 3,434 shares Socony; worth more than \$500,000.

Also 18,850 shares Alaska Mexican Gold Mining; 5,000 Mexican Seaboard Oil; \$114,000 worth of Guanajuato (Mexican) Power bonds. (Source: transfer tax appraisal.)

## State Dept. Fascists (cont.)

SEVERAL readers call attention to double interpretation of N. Y. Times quotation ("No revolts against any Mexican regime supported by Washington have been successful") in No. 10. There can be no double meaning in the following statement made to the committee of the Pan American Council for Democracy by Gen. Mugica:

"Every uprising, every revolt, every attempted rebellion, every important disturbance of the peace in Mexico ever since the people shook off the dictatorship has been inspired or supported by the U. S. State Department and financed by American commercial interests."

Other high government officials made similar statements, which can be summarized as: "No uprising against the popular government will be successful unless the U. S. Fascists (State Dept. and oil companies) back it."

## Willkie Peace Talk Cut

ACCORDING to Raymond Lonergan's column in Labor (Sept. 17), official organ of the railroad unions, Willkie, after saying "no compromise with the dictators" at Elwood, wanted to pledge himself against entry of the European War. He wrote the following paragraph: "I shall never lead this country into any European war," Lonergan adds:

Apparently the press is hurt by criticism from the Christian Century, the New Republic, the Progressive, a few unbribeable newspapers and the entire labor press, which accused it of unfairness when it went to Hoover and Landon, and which claimed the public was losing faith in its newspapers.

Beginning Aug. 24 Editor & Publisher began printing articles and editorials saying only 66.3% of the press supports Willkie, 20.1% Roosevelt, and that these percentages are higher than in '32 and '36.

The truth is E&P is wrong. The New Republic based its criticism on a study of the press in the 15 biggest cities; La Follette's Progressive said "north of the Mason & Dixon line"; the editor of IN FACT based his criticism on the one-sidedness of the press outside the solid South, where editorial position does not matter.

Taking E&P's own figures today, eliminating the solid South and Maine and Vermont, we find 80% of the press for Willkie; counting announcements by "independent" papers and recent changes, we get about 90% for Willkie with the press in whole states and many big cities 100% for him.

(The press is free to choose its candidate; scientific tests by institutions, colleges, polls, prove that the news columns, including bunbombe, distortion, partisanship, always follow the editorial decision.)

### **Ad Money, Liberty League, Willkie, Press**

From Editor & Publisher we learn that the biggest advertisers are: General Motors, Camels, Lucky Strike, Old Gold, Chesterfield, Ford, Chrysler, Lever's soaps, Distillers Corp., National Distillers, Schenley Products, Ivory, Standard Brands, General Foods, Colgate, Bayer's Aspirin, Goodyear, General Electric, Heinz, Nash, Kellogg, Quaker Oats, Soc-Vac, Pew's Sunoco, Philco, Coca Cola, National Dairy (Kraft), Armour, Sal Hepatica, National Biscuit, Swift, Borden, and Hearst publications. Each one spends from one to \$22,000,000 a year. These corporations make up a big part of the \$1,500,000,000 annual advertising budget.

The names of the owners and directors of these corporations appear: in the old Liberty League, in the list of Republican Party contributors, in the present Willkie campaign. (In some instances big contributors to the Democratic campaign fund also appear in the GOP list.) Secretary of the Interior Ickes says Willkie is Wall Street's barefoot boy. The fact is that Willkie is the choice of big business leaders, big advertisers, and big newspapers.

### **The Dollar Press for Willkie**

There are only two or three newspapers making big money which are independent enough to risk losing advertising by supporting Roosevelt. Captain Joseph Medill Patterson of the New York Daily News is one multi-millionaire who is doing so. The Patterson-McCormick enterprise is worth \$100,000,000 or more and Col. R. R. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune is for Willkie. It has been said that the cousins hate each other so much that if one came out against disease, death, and damnation in his paper the other would support them. Perhaps this is the reason in politics.

The reactionary Chicago Tribune is not so much for Willkie as it is against Roosevelt and taxation. Its program has been: "turn the rascals out," a rascal being anyone in office who would tax newspapers as well as other millionaire corporations.

The Chicago Daily News is more liberal than the Tribune and its editor and publisher, Col. Knox (temporarily resigned to head the Navy Department) likes Roosevelt. But the secret of the News' support of Willkie is its Big Business ownership, for example:

Sewell L. Avery, chairman of U. S. Gypsum, Montgomery Ward, director U. S. Steel, Northern Trust, Armours, Pullman, and heavy contributor to the Liberty League.

Laird Bell, vice-president Weyerhaeuser Timber, director Liquid Carbonic and Chicago Title & Trust.

Max Epstein, chairman, General American Transportation; J. E. Otis, chairman, Personal Loan & Savings, director, Pure Oil; H. D. Pettibone, president Chicago Title & Trust; G. E. Scott, president, American Steel Foundries; John Stuart, president, Quaker Oats, director, Northern Trust.

### **Times as Public Utilities Propagandist**

Editorially the NYTimes has consistently upheld high electric and gas rates for New York state, ridiculed Frank Walsh of the Power Authority who wanted to halve rates and who favored public ownership, and buried in its financial pages one of the three most sensational government reports of our time—the report on the \$25,000,000 a year corruption fund of the utilities,—the other two being the Munitions report and the La Follette labor spy report, which the Times editorially falsified.

The utilities report contained interesting matter concerning the Times itself, for example, the following cross-examination of J. S. Richardson, utilities propagandist:

Question: Did you prepare some material for the New York Times for use in connection with an article on the Conowingo development? . . . Please look at documents 1222 and 1223.

"It is alleged by gentlemen who should know what the Republican high command is doing, that Mr. Willkie had that sentence in the original draft of his Elwood speech, but cut it out at the request of William Allen White, who told him that anything of that kind might lose him the support of powerful interests along the Atlantic seaboard—presumably the House of Morgan, and great newspapers like the N. Y. Times and N. Y. Herald Tribune."

### **Favors by Bullitt**

AN addition to IN FACT's (No. 9) exposé of William Bullitt is the Petain government's request that Bullitt select its new ambassador to the United States. Bullitt suggested his friend Gaston Henri-Haye, fascist in outlook and philosophy. Bullitt now serves his friend in Washington much as he did the French cabinet.

Furthermore, when the former attaché La Cambre returned to unoccupied France saying he expected to be tried for war-guilt but had no fears because the judges would be above reproach, he had in his pocket a letter of recommendation from Bullitt vouching for La Cambre's loving friendship for the Petain regime. Which may explain the attaché's conviction that he has nothing to fear from the judges.

### **Defaming the Negroes**

SEQUEL to IN FACT's (No. 10) account of the bombing of Negro homes in Dallas, Texas, by white vigilantes:

The failure to provide for Negro families evicted in order to make way for a government housing project forced these homeless people out of the slums and into the only neighborhood where they could rent houses. The bomb was flung from a moving car, a typical KKK, vigilante action.

But the Dallas Morning Star unearthed the fact that one of the Negro occupants had a shotgun standing in a corner of his room. It immediately headlined a scare that the Negroes were "armed." Not to be outdone, Congressman Dies ordered an investigation of what the Star called "Reds' Acts Among Negroes of Dallas." Hence, the attack on peaceful citizens allowed the press and the witch-hunter Dies to intimate that the Negro people provoked the bombings by being "armed," and to accuse the "Reds" (that all-inclusive designation for workers, foreign-born, Negroes, and other sections of the population which Dies abhors) of having thrown the bomb. Dies did not suggest a probe of the Ku Klux Klan or other terroristic vigilante organizations which flourish in Dallas.

### **The Toll of Draft**

ALTHOUGH Canada is at war, and the United States is ostensibly at peace, the Canadian draft is only one fifteenth as severe as the American in relation to size of population.

The Canadian draft is for one month, not for a year. In Canada 30,000 males are to be drafted out of 5,000,000 eligible. In the United States, 900,000 of the 62,000,000 eligible will be taken. The draft is about sixteen times harder on American males than on Canadian.

## Defense Lowers Standards

NATIONAL defense, high government officials now say, cannot be achieved unless the American people suffer hardships. Eric Englund, chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, admits the standard of living of the majority of people will be lowered. The people, who according to the new tax schedules will pay the larger part of the armament bill through indirect and sales taxes while business increases profits enormously, are told to tighten their belts in much the same manner Hitler, Goering and Goebbels advise their people.

Credit expert J. Anton Hagios, National Dry Goods Ass'n, has sent members a bulletin warning against giving credit to persons liable to draft, but "it is extremely important not to appear to be tightening up too severely." (Note: all 100% peacetime patriots.)

## Profits from Preparedness

THE decade's trend of taxation is to shift burden on lower income groups while upper bracketeers are enabled by loopholes to avoid much taxpaying (Joint Congressional Committee on Tax Evasion, report, 1937).

Present and future rise in profits must be paid for by higher cost of living, increased taxation on lower tax groups. Cost of food has risen 5% in year (Dept. of Agric. reports, Aug., '40). Yet 400 corporations upped profits by 59% first half of '40 (National City Bank report, Aug., '40). Sixteen leading oil companies report greater profits by 230% (N. Y. Sun, Aug. 7). Eighty steel companies, 90% of this industry, report rise of 400% profit (N. Y. T., Aug. 19).

Even the pro-administration Pearson & Allen column reports "that the next tax bill is not an excess profits bill at all. At least 2/3rds of it is an increase on corporations taxes which doesn't even begin to take away big business profits on national defense orders."

Obviously, therefore, that although "not a single war millionaire" will be created (FDR), the corporations will not be prevented from looting America and since someone has to pay, the lower bracketeers must do so at the cost of lowering living standards—a step backward in civilization, a step forward to fascism.

## Suppressed Anti-Ford Ad

THE New York newspapers, all of which, except PM, take big money from Henry Ford (America's most notorious anti-Semite next to Coughlin), refused to accept an advertisement for Friday magazine exposing anti-Semitism.

If the Friday ad had libeled Ford and his spokesman, W. J. Cameron, the newspapers might have had an excuse. Friday's ad said: "The men behind fascist plotting and anti-Semitism in America. Proofs—Names—Documents" etc. The ad did not name anyone.

According to PM (which printed the ad free as news matter) the press lost a mere \$10,000. Ford ads run into hundreds of thousands.

The Times said it "exercised its right of censorship"; the News called it libelous; Hearst's Mirror and Backer's Post said nothing; the Herald Tribune said it wanted "both sides of the story." Other papers suppressing the ad are Civil Service Leader, Bronx Home News, Jewish

Answer: Yes, sir. I did at the request of the New York Times.  
Question: Do you know whether they ran such an article?  
Answer: I believe they did.

## EXHIBIT 1223

The New York Times, New York, January 29, 1926.

Mr. J. S. S. Richardson,  
Director, Public Service Information Bureau, Philadelphia.

Dear Sir: As the Conowingo development seems to have reached the concrete stage, it occurs to me that an article on this subject would be of timely interest in the financial columns of the New York Times. . . . Mr. Nell of the North American Co. suggests that you might be able to give me information. . . . I would appreciate it if you would supply me with information for a story about 1/2 to 2/3rds of a column long.

I would also like to be put on the mailing list for your weekly bulletin of information.

Yours very truly, L. B. Gnaedinger.

Judge Healy: It appears that during October, 1927 Dr. . . . was being paid by the joint committee (of the N.E.L.A., the corruption fund of the utilities): I offer in that connection this document 1314 which is an article signed by him clipped from the New York Times Magazine . . . "The Electric Age."

In other words, the great New York Times put over power corporation propaganda as straight news. This was before Sulzberger became publisher. But it is a fine example of venality. The Times still favors the corporations—and lives on their ad money.

## Sulzbergian Contradictions

At the time Sulzberger announced for Willkie, his advertising department ran this notice:

### Nonpartisan Political News

To be sure of news of the Presidential campaign that is complete, accurate and undistorted by bias or partisanship, be sure you have the New York Times every day. . . .

However, for weeks, Times readers had been puzzled by the change: the news stories had gradually switched to Willkie, and the usual buncombe was on Page 1. Editorially, the Times still approved Roosevelt until Sept. 19.

The partisanship of the Times contradicts Mr. Sulzberger's famous story about his predecessor and father-in-law, Adolf Ochs, which Sulzberger tells as a warning to newspaper men. It seems that Ochs one day innocently asked his Washington correspondent if there was "anything in that silver story?"

The Washington correspondent suspected Ochs had an interest in silver and found a story. He found one every day, in the government's silver policy. The word spread. The Albany correspondent, local men, desk men, eventually foreign correspondents sensed the boss's interest in silver, and silver stories flooded the paper until a silver wedding made Page 1.

Sulzberger says Ochs had no personal interest in silver. But he learned a lesson: never to show an interest in a special story because the staff might go berserk on it.

Sulzberger tells the story to prove how honest and nonpartisan Ochs was. He claims he follows in Ochs' footsteps. But his partner, Col. Adler, starts the peacetime conscription movement, and he himself changes editorial policy; and the two of them send the editors of their Chattanooga Times (Julian Harris, and Hunt Clement, Jr.) on a "vacation" because they cannot switch their views to Willkie.

## Sample of Times Fairness

It is not necessary to fake political news—as was done in 1936 and may be done in 1940. Here is a sample of how the public is betrayed by papers which do not suppress:

Item 1: The New York Times carries a half-column on "Ford Hails Willkie as Economic Hope. Backs candidate for practical business experience as essential to prosperity." No mention of Ford as leading anti-Semite, nor NLRB decisions charging Ford with violations of the labor act, employing criminals, using violence.

Item 2. CIO announces opening of drive to unionize Ford. Big fund voted. Pro-liberal, pro-labor press frontpages action, but 99% of the press, including New York Times, buries story under small heading.

The New York Times accepted advertising from all the big automobile concerns saying you could buy cars on installments paying 6% interest. The Federal Trade Commission called them fraud, made them desist. Consumers Union called the ads frauds months earlier, but the newspapers of America continued to print fake ads, refused CU ads.

## Willkie, Bund, and Press

Despite Willkie's statement repudiating the fomentors of race and religious hatred and his mention of Coughlin and Social Justice, the Christian Fronters, Christian American Crusade, Nazi Bund, Hitlerite "Free American" and similar organizations still prefer Willkie to Roosevelt. The word has spread that Willkie is supporting big business, that he has a Fascist mentality, all of which appeals to the reactionaries.

Following the Aug. 19 rally of the German Bund and the Ku Klux Klan at Camp Nordland, Andover, N. J., the New York Post (anti-Willkie) reported that Roosevelt was booed and a speaker appealed to Willkie to declare against war; PM said that Willkie buttons were distributed to Bundsmen and Klansmen; but the World-Telegram (pro-Willkie) suppressed all mention of Willkie.

This may not be a world-shattering story, but it shows plainly that pro-Willkie papers do not report campaign news honestly.

## Extra! Willkie Endorses Free Press

Celebrating National Newspaper Week, Willkie Oct. 1 came out for a free press. He said: "There is nothing more essential to the preservation of a free American democracy than the preservation of a free American press." Willkie's Chattanooga light corporation, under Willkie's direction, destroyed the Chattanooga News which favored government ownership. (IN FACT, No. 2.)

Willkie continued: "News, accurate and unbiased, is the daily bread upon which a democracy feeds. Pervert the news and control the views of the press—these are the firms aims in the would-be dictator's effort to undermine democracy." This is exactly what the public utilities did: see 73 volume report Fed. Trade Com.

"Lies and controlled propaganda are the stuff upon which dictatorships feed," added Willkie. Not only the pre-Willkie \$25,000,000 a year lie and propaganda fund of the utilities, but the present Hofer bureau, the Wisconsin utilities bureau, etc. continue to issue utilities lies and propaganda. In the USA it is Big Business which does the Goebbels job.

"I believe" concluded Willkie, "that the publishers, editors, and working staffs of America's newspapers are discharging (their historic) responsibility in a great and vital American way." The evidence is overwhelming the editors and publishers are for Willkie because Big Business is for Willkie; newspaper men are mostly anti-Willkie.

## Times Suppresses Anti-Willkie News

A case of actual Times suppression (The Nation, Sept. 14): When Willkie concerns were accused of employing labor spies, officials denied, but admitted using Pinkertons to check street car collections and buying munitions. Times suppressed this part of story; Herald Tribune published.

## Tax Dodging Free Press

In the last issue of IN FACT it was shown that Roy Howard and associates, owners of the 18 Scripps-Howard papers, including the World-Telegram, Cleveland Press, Pittsburgh Press, all supporters of Willkie, paid \$251.24 in taxes, dodged paying \$226,264 and were exposed by the Roosevelt administration. The other big tax dodgers exposed included the Melons, the Du Ponts, Alfred P. Sloan, J. J. Raskob, Thomas W. Lamont, many Liberty Leaguers. The other newspaper owners exposed were:

Paul Block, also owner of a chain of newspapers including the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette; net income \$1,100,278; paid nothing; dodged paying \$585,000.

William Dewart, publisher of the New York Sun. This paper is a Morgan mouthorgan; its financial editor, Franz Schneider, was on the Morgan preferred list.

All for Willkie. All slanting the news for Willkie, playing up Willkie buncombe, playing down Roosevelt, and never giving minority parties a square deal.

Newspapers worth from ten to \$50,000,000: Times, Herald Tribune, and News in New York; Chicago Tribune, Los Angeles Times, Kansas City Star, Chicago Daily News. All for Willkie but one.

Morning Journal, Jewish Daily Forward, and Jewish Day.

The three Jewish papers said they had no space. They all have space for Ford ads at regular advertising rates. When it comes to press corruption by advertising there is no color, race, religion, politics; there is merely money. This is not the first time Jewish publications have suppressed pro-Jewish news and advertising.

Friday's story reproduced a letter signed Cameron addressed to Fritz Kuhn. Cameron denies the letter. This does not in any way change the exposure of Cameron, Ford's first spokesman and publisher of anti-Semitic Dearborn Independent. Cameron still heads anti-Semitic organizations, writes anti-Semitic pieces, and expresses a complete Nazi mentality.

## Suppressed As Usual

IVORY soap advertisements making certain statements specified by the Federal Trade Commission are fakes, and the company has been ordered to stop them (Stipulation 02628, Sept. 9).

Mohawk Rubber Co., Imperial Tire, Lafayette Tire, of Akron and Brooklyn have been ordered to stop phoney ads claiming 6-ply tires (S. 2918-9).

Schrafft of Boston, Frank Shattuck, New York, have faked their candy ads and the government orders "home made" out (S. 2916).

"Baby Ruth" candy is falsely advertised regarding fat, etc. Advertising favoring dextrose is phoney. The government orders company to stop ads urging eating dextrose to secure energy (S. 02608).

Crazy Water Crystals, the FTC charges, falsely advertises cures or beneficial treatment. The government says they contain "no therapeutic properties" outside of being a laxative (Complaint, Sept. 19).

1995 newspapers out of the 2,000 in the U. S. suppressed these items. They suppress every item that may injure advertisers. They publish items, many false, that will injure labor. The AFL and CIO do not advertise.

## BLIND TO THE NEWS!



The kind of a guy who believes what he reads . . . believes in the "sanctity" of the press. But he's a regular fellow. He'll agree with you if you can show him proof . . . cold hard facts that convince him he's been blind to the news all these years. And for proof give him a copy of IN FACT. If you can use a bundle of IN FACT for free distribution to your "blind to the news" colleagues, just drop us a card and tell us how many. And when they're ready to subscribe and you don't have enough room on the sub form, use a blank sheet of paper listing names and addresses.

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